1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 [491] Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

• 273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[241] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699–706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343–44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29–32 and 138–68.

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come to town to mill their grain or to sell their surplus crops, they are encouraged to drink, with the result that they often squander their profits and return home empty-handed or with pitifully small amounts of cash.

HOUSE TYPES

For the most part the Mapuche continue to live in their traditional type of dwellings, which they call *rukas*. House building is always done in fall and winter, with the help of relatives or neighbors. If the necessary materials have been properly prepared in advance, construction can be completed in a day or two.[13] The *rukas* are generally oval or rectangular in ground plan, and average about 15 feet wide, 25 to 30 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet high. Dimensions and shapes may vary considerably from house to house, even on the same reservation. Houses are most frequently oriented in an east-west direction, with a single doorway facing east, but sometimes they are placed in other directions for greater protection from prevailing winds.

The framework of a *ruka* consists of heavy posts, set about two to three feet apart and interlaced with thin poles or canes, over which are placed tightly fitting and overlapping bundles of thatch (Pl. II, Fig. 1). There are no windows, but openings that serve as smoke holes are left at opposite ends of the roof (see Frontispiece). The floor is of firmly packed earth, near the center of which a small excavation ringed with stones is made for use as a fireplace.

Ruka interiors frequently acquire a deep brown glaze, said to result from the action of smoke. Roof beams and posts also serve for holding spare garments and tools; cooking vessels and water jars are generally left on the ground near the fireplace. Beds and bedding are ranged along the side walls.[14] Personally, I saw no *ruka* that comprised more than a single, undivided room, but Domingo Carilaf affirmed that in "better"

[13] Many additional data on house construction may be found in Guevara, 1911, p. 143; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 169–83; and Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 12–29.

[14] For further details see Housse, 1939, pp. 158 ff.

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Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of mashed apples;[22] *mote*, made of decorticated wheat or corn boiled in water;[23] *mudai*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[24] and *muska* or *chicha de maiz*, a fermented beverage prepared with premasticated corn.[25] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to intoxicants, particularly at fiestas.[26] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[22] Latcham (1909, p. 343) reported that apple *chicha* is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[23] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1931a, p. 92.

[24] Good accounts of *mudai* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 145–46, and in Housse, 1939, pp. 172–75.

[25] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid reaction to the premastication process occurs in Smith, 1885, pp. 302–4.

[26] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

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Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

At meals women used to serve adult men first and children after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931*a*, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

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796 [548 2731 back for Cautinche. Before we left, however, knots of men could be seen taking long swigs of wine from bottles brought to the spot by bootleggers.

COMPARISON OF ÑILLATUN AT COIGUE AND MALALCHE

To indicate the many variations of the *ñillatun* performance, let us now summarize the major differences in the two events just described. In contrast to Coigue, no cross was in evidence at Malalche, and while the celebration took place on a hockey field, no game of *chueca* was played. The *machi* at Malalche had two assistants and became possessed, but she lacked the poise and control of the *machi* who conducted the Coigue rites with a single assistant and without speaking in a spirit voice. The sheep staked near the Coigue altar was not sacrificed. At Malalche, there were more special dancers, more *trutrukas* and *pifullkas*, two altars, and a longer dance ground, but there was much less asperging, a poorer ostrich performance, a ragged *awn*, and far less fervor in keeping dogs away from the main altar. Furthermore, black standards and cheek marks featured the Coigue ceremony that sought rain, whereas the Malalche rites came after the winter wheat was sown and asked for sunshine by the use of white banners. Finally, there were many more participants at Malalche, and much more evidence of disorder and intoxication than was seen at Coigue.

Two features, sometimes associated with the rites, were absent both at Coigue and Malalche. One of these, *konchotun*, is called by Moesbach an annex to the *ñillatun*.[39] This is the ceremony, involving the consumption of a sacrificed sheep, by which two sets of people may pledge friendship or make matrimonial alliances. The other trait that was missing was clowning by men in masks. As explained by Juan Antinao, clowns, *ayekan wentrus*, used to be privileged performers, and their favorite trick was to snatch roasting meat away from the fire of an unwary woman. Clowning seems to have had the dual purpose of amusing spectators and of providing a happy atmos-

796 522

[39] Moesbach, 1930, p. 371.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted gradually by the race on seeing the advantages accruing from the new mode of life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide. Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of the softer skins, using eyeless needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui, who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *muchi*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their *chicha* in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The *chicha* is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of *mitmacs*, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely modest. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.)

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p.160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2: 663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2: 616), pûthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.).

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascunan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 685 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 273 276 828 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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THEFT, INTOXICATION

674 According to Chilean police, Araucanians are law-abiding citizens. When an Araucanian is arrested, it is, almost without exception, either for theft or for an injury inflicted on a non-Araucanian during a fist fight while intoxicated. The Sisters at the mission stations corroborated this. Cooper lists theft as one of the chief crimes of the Araucanians (1946, p. 726).

Cattle were known to have been stolen in the areas covered by the present study, "for no good reason." In one area a man stole chickens "for a good reason"—to feed his hungry family. He owned no land, cattle, or sheep, and was unable to find enough work to buy food. One evening he was caught stealing chickens from the coop of a non-Araucanian. The non-Araucanian reprimanded him, then gave him two additional chickens and sent him home. The next day she engaged him in work for pay and urged Araucanian neighbors to do so also and to share food with the man's family. They did so, but they did not cease from expressing a wish to both the non-Araucanian and the man that he move his family to where relatives lived. "After all, both he and his wife have relatives; this is no place for him."

When the Sisters' house in Alepúe was being destroyed by fire (1939), all movable things were carried out or were thrown out of windows, and were lying about the place for several days. Not an article was taken. For the following three weeks these articles were stored in an empty, unlocked ruka, and nothing was missing when the [685] Sisters returned. In the early days, theft was punishable, even with death; today it is punished by Chilean courts with imprisonment.

A family is sensitive to the accusation of theft against one of its members. During the present study the key to a school door was missing. Suspicion was cast on a certain boy by his schoolmates. When the teacher questioned him he admitted that he had taken the key, but had lost it. The boy's paternal grandmother and aunt came to the teacher to assure her that the boy was no thief; that he had admitted taking the key only because of the pressure the schoolchildren had exercised by their accusations; that he had really been frightened into admission; that they would most certainly be ashamed to have a thief in the family. In the afternoon the key was found in the schoolyard by children playing there.

● 273 Formerly, in general, Araucanian men drank to excess only when in a group; rarely did women drink to excess. Occasions when it was expected that men would drink to intoxication were the end of the threshing of each family's harvest and at the completion of the erec-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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tion of a ruka. Relatives, friends, and neighbors assisted each other in these occupations. Mudai, the traditional alcoholic beverage, was formerly drunk; in more recent times, and at present, it is chicha, either home-brewed or obtained from Chilean dealers. If a family can afford it, Chilean wine is also taken. Non-Araucanians thought that some persons satisfied their taste for alcohol by eating fermented potatoes (funa ponü, pp. 208-209). 273

Today a keg of chicha is consumed whenever relatives, friends, and neighbors get together. Traditionally, as noted, such times are threshing time and ruka-building time; to these have been added the event of a sale of a goodly number of cattle or sheep; the baptism of a child; and all civil and religious fiestas—never, however, when people are gathered for the ngillatun. "Most certainly not then; no one is intoxicated at the ngillatun." Heavy drinking is usually begun toward the end of the event. Cooper's earliest sources consistently attribute heavy drinking to the Araucanians, with heaviest drinking done at feasts (1946, p. 741).

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS

Teaching the child was the responsibility of its immediate family, chiefly the parents, but also brothers and sisters. Grandparents, uncles, and aunts, and other relatives were the child's teachers only when they filled the place of parents, something which happened when a parent was ill over a long period of time, when a grandparent reared a child because of a wish or a necessity to have a companion, or when the child lived in the home of a grandparent, aunt, or uncle because the child's parents had deserted it or had died, or it was adopted for some reason. 867 868

While the child was very young, the mother was its chief teacher. As a girl grew older, she was instructed by her mother in household duties; the father instructed the boy in a man's work. In matters of character and moral training, parents often shared responsibilities; they took time out both to instruct and to council their children. "Whenever there is leisure time, or we think it is an opportune time to do so, like during an afternoon, my husband and I sit down with our boys—we have only boys—and instruct them like all fathers and mothers do—we advise them regarding things they must know, especially in what is the right thing to do."

The spokesman for a group of eight men, all collaborating, told that each son is trained directly by the father to have respect for his

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as purun. They are danced at the gillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word purun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the gillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as purun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gion, the cuviide, the wuiue (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the cuecha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the purun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and cumdo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, guana, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 736).

533 539 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have exhausted my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

● [273] By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting at the girl's home (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the husks is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a cuán, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a cuán.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on wooded sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cisternas or pails. Children usually fetch it.

[657] At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by
272 all adults and many children (pl. 51, *f*). This drink was only recently
177 introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Cañeripe woman remembered when an Araucanian once first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my oldest son was a baby; he is now 36 years old. We buy packages of it in Tecuco, Villarrica, and Lonquimay." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a
[515] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

● 273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (*manzanas silvestre*) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, *Araucaria* nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as mulle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or maqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

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Formerly, according to a Panguipulli man older than 70 years, chicha was made in a kettle-shaped vessel of leather (trakal, fig. 5). At the open end, the leather was fastened to a rim of avellano wood by means of vines. The vessel was propped up by three or four poles, with one end of each pole poked under the rim and the other end planted in the ground.

In the early days, mudai, a fermented drink made of various grains, was the family beverage. Old women chewed the grain, usually uncooked dried corn, spat it into an olla, poured water on this, and let it ferment. The fermented liquid was poured off and drunk. Today, mudai is drunk only at the ñillatun, machitun, and konchatun. Women prepare both the mudai and the chicha.

Formerly two meals a day were eaten: one, a full meal, was taken as soon as it was prepared, which was usually in the late forenoon,

FIG. 5.—Trakal, a vessel of leather propped on sticks and used in chicha making. (Sketch made by Domingo Huenum of Panguipulli.)

and another, a partial one, about bedtime, which was any time "between dusk and the time people usually get hungry."

Rising time for the family, today, as formerly, is the cock's crow. Often, therefore, everyone is up before sunrise. The woman, with the help of an older girl or even small children, sets about preparing a meal—"a meal like we always have had." One of the children will stir up the fire and keep it refueled, for a large fire has to be maintained so that there will be ashes for baking the tortillas. The mother, or an older girl, prepares the dough for the tortillas and then bakes them. "Other dishes, too, must be prepared. We usually have meat with tortillas and also either toasted wheat or catuto, and yerba maté. When we have no tortillas, we bake potatoes in ashes. That takes time, too." On the day of an interview, a Coñaripe woman had given her family as its main meal tortillas, soup thickened with wheat, roast lamb, catuto, and yerba maté. Men were encountered who had hoed potatoes or cut grain for several hours without having eaten anything. The women were preparing the meal, they would say. The evening meal usually consisted of left-overs from the main meal.

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dealt with my children." A woman older than 100 years remembered that she once sent one of her children, a little boy, to a neighbor with a message which required an answer. He brought back an answer, but later she discovered that he had made it up himself—he had not gone to the neighbor. "I whipped him with a stick then for lying to me." Children lie today. 867

A child that stole was made to return the stolen object. This is done today. "But children usually do not steal; a small child does not know any better, and an older one knows enough not to do so." "A child so high [about 5 years old] that takes something most certainly is not considered to be a thief, but a boy whose voice is beginning to change or a grown-up man who steals is a thief. Girls and women did not steal; at least I have never heard of one that did." Nothing is done to a child that pilfers food: "That is really not important; he is probably hungry, and this is his home."

Intoxicating drinks were not given to children as beverages unless parents wished to discover the personality that was being developed by an adolescent son, or one a little older, in which case they might give him to excess an intoxicating drink known as chicha. A few families were known to have done so to a son who was only four years of age. If the boy, when completely drunk, grabbed a bottle of chicha, everyone present knew that in his mature years he would be a drunkard; if he lay down and slept, he would be a quiet man; if he grabbed a lasso, he would do well with animals; if he ran around and yelled, he would be an angry and jealous man; if he tried to fight, he would be a quarrelsome man. "I once saw such a boy trying to fight with a tree." Parents will be frightened at their son's conduct and worried at the thought of his future—"but they can do nothing about it." Many persons were invited to witness the performance. Each boy was tested separately. Girls were not so tested. 787 273

Young men in their twenties were known to have drunk to intoxication but only with the express permission of the father or, in his absence, the mother. "Some men asked permission when they were 30 years old. Today no one asks permission; today some begin to drink at 12." Young women did not drink intoxicating beverages.

CHUMS, MODESTY, PUBERTY RITES

Chums were not institutional, but two girls of the same age group in a neighborhood were known to be special friends; sometimes they remained lifelong friends. "I had a girl as a friend. We were about 14 years old, I believe, when we got to be friends; we made fire together and played together like all girls do." 572

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In the early days stealing from people who lived in the jurisdiction of one's own cacique was taboo; if the cacique was notified of such an act, he ordered the thief to return the stolen thing. Persons, however, sometimes stole from those from another cacique's jurisdiction. Old non-Araucanian men recalled days when a mighty Araucanian cacique from Chile, called Kalfucura, rustled cattle in Argentina from both Araucanians and non-Araucanians and drove them across the Andes to his own lands in Chile. 685

Drinking to intoxication, in the early days, was not the customary thing, according to old informants. There was never enough mudai—the early alcoholic beverage—available for many to drink to excess. Chicha, a later intoxicating beverage, provided greater opportunities for intoxication. Wine has replaced both. Non-Araucanians who have lived in Araucanian areas for 20 or more years lament the recent increase in wine consumption by both Araucanian men and women. Its demoralizing effects were spoken of by both Araucanians and non-Araucanians. Generally only persons past 40 become intoxicated. 273

TEACHING THE CHILD

INSTRUCTORS, METHODS OF INSTRUCTIONS

Parents were the primary instructors of the child, unless the child was being reared in the home of a grandparent or other relative, in which case these replaced the parents. Both fathers and mothers trained both sons and daughters. "We never attended school, but whatever our parents and elders taught us, or advised us to do, we learned, carried out, and remembered." Methods used were those of direct verbal instructions and of letting the child observe and participate in adult activities and share the responsibilities of work. 861

In general small children grew up without much interference from elders. During interviews they romped about, but were not noisy. When old enough to comprehend, and thereafter, they were instructed verbally in right living. Quoting a man in his eighties: "My father talked much to us children by way of instruction; my mother did so less; she was a quiet person. My father told us among other things not to laugh at the ñillatun [tribal religious ceremonial]; always to be thankful for what was given to us. He told us that there is life after death in another world; that after death a person retains certain powers, but that a deceased person does not have as much power as a living person has; that God has most power of all; that He is mightiest of all. He told us that he dreamed there is a God and that this God knows all that we say or think; that this God is everywhere." 869

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around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table. 264

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known. 252 462

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water. 271 312 361

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat. 272

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha. 273

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and 272 [439]

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241 [407] used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[224] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and [371] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff [231] is considered inferior fodder.

132 241 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. [221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 243 [21] [433] Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio [162] of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as [231] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rábano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

241 [203] Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty.

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity.

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied.

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen.

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the family itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

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every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they

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on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away—drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 574 [273] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work. 868 857 233 [885]

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836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker—outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment—no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public—at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [252] [293]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

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537 764 613 829 [769] Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 273 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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Those accompanying the coffin make additional libations of wine at the grave, drinking a good deal more themselves. The scene at the grave is characteristically maudlin.

Two or more of the men remain to fill in the hole with dirt. The rest return to the house of the deceased, where family and friends continue to console one another and speak the praises of the dead, meanwhile finishing the remaining food and drink. The formal ceremony concludes with interment and final salutes to the dead. Ashes are sometimes scattered between the cemetery and the deceased's house. They impede the spirit from returning to the precincts of the living, provided all other aspects of the ceremony have been executed satisfactorily. And if this is done, the three principal objectives of *awn* are achieved: the remains of the dead are interred, his spirit is assured its proper place in the afterworld, and the living have discharged their obligation of mourning, which properly initiates their lifelong responsibility of spirit propitiation.

Burial ceremonies vary not so much with region as with the status of the dead person and his relatives. Age, sex, wealth, and rank are the main determinants for variations in *awn* celebrations. Adults receive more or less the same ceremonial treatment as that described above, but chiefs and shamans are accorded more pomp. Children's funerals are generally much simpler affairs than those of adults, are attended by fewer mourners, and are brought to completion in a shorter time. It is felt that the loss to their lineage and community is not as great as the loss of a married adult member of the group, since they were not full-fledged members of the society. Infants, unless they die at the same time as their mother, are rarely interred in the communal cemetery, but are buried in the old family plot or somewhere else near the house, and with little ceremony. It is generally said that this at least partly prevents them from being captured by *kalku* and converted into *anchimallen*, a feat which the Mapuche seem to feel is more easily accomplished when infants are buried at some distance from the house in the cemetery.

The funeral of a chief or shaman is more ostentatious and the assemblage much larger than those of ordinary Mapuche. In number of participants, the ceremony takes on the proportions

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to cook, and await the beginning of the ritual. Nearly all the people arrive by noon, although there are some stragglers. The assemblage on the first day of the ceremony is generally much smaller than that on the second day. The first day is considered supremely sacred, and much time is given to the propitiation of ancestors of the host group and, in turn, those of the participating reservations which traditionally comprise the ritual congregation. Things change somewhat on the second (or third) day of the ceremony, and many profane activities are introduced. People tend to mix more freely on the second day, and there is usually a good deal of wine-drinking (although this is proscribed in certain parts of Mapucheland). On the second day, the spectators may outnumber the participants, and the total assemblage might easily reach several thousand people. This vulgarization of the ceremony is deeply regretted by the elders.

As the various family groups of participants arrive, they take up positions sufficiently distant from the center of the field of ceremonial activity. If *ramadas* have been set up to receive everyone, their positions are predetermined. The officials (*kamañ*: guardians of one sort or another) of the ceremony are responsible for the ordering of the crowd and do not hesitate to ask family groups to move to more suitable places rimming the ceremonial field. There is a good deal of milling about among the assemblage before the ceremony starts, as people compete to obtain positions of vantage from which to view the activities. At the first sign of ritual activity, however, the entire audience fixes its attention on the *rewe* and settles down to watch the proceedings.

Ideally, the ritual is divided into four parts, each largely a repetition of the other. If there is a full performance, the ritual falls into four sections: early morning, mid-morning, early afternoon, late afternoon. There are no nocturnal rites, although there is a good deal of visiting among the participants and guests, should they remain the night on the ceremonial field.

Whether there are four, three, or only two ritual periods, each closely duplicates the main features of the others. There is always this repetition, even though there should be only a morning and an afternoon session. The ritual of the second

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with, having their head-quarters at the Salinas, north of the Rio Negro. These are the Pampas, called by the Tehuelches 'Penck,' whence I believe the name Pehuelche has been corrupted. Several clans of this nation extend over the plains north of Rio Negro, and make frequent inroads into the Argentine settlements as far as the province of Santa Fé, and even, I believe, to Cordova and Mendoza. The Pampas of the north of Patagonia sometimes keep cattle and sheep, but generally subsist by the chase. A third tribe appear, by their language and physique, to be a branch of the Araucanos of Chili. These are the people called by the Tehuelches Chenna, and also the Warriors; they are otherwise known as Manzaneros, from their head-quarters Las Manzanas, so named from the groves of apple trees; once a station of the early Jesuit missionaries, who vainly endeavoured to convert and civilise these tribes. They are less migratory and more civilised in their habits than the Tehuelches, and are said to keep herds of cattle and sheep in the sheltered valleys of the Cordillera, and sometimes till a little maize. I do not know whether the Jesuit Fathers taught their disciples the art or no, but from the apples of Las Manzanas these Indians brew a very tolerable cider, besides making an intoxicating liquor from the beans of the algarroba. The Tehuelches altogether depend for their stimulants on the chance supplies of rum procured in trade at the settlements, and this and disease, small-pox especially, are rapidly diminishing their numbers.

We remained in our encampment by the Rio Chico for one day, during which the missing Arica arrived. He was received with very black looks by Orkeke, who from this time, although still allowing him a place in his toldo, and a horse to ride, seemed to have conceived a violent aversion to him, which argued badly for the Chilian's future safety. It appeared that during my absence he had given way to the desire of providing something to eat, and had left the fire to burn out, while he foraged for roots. On returning he saw

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antecedent was carefully avoided, and instead of it our party occupied a damp and even sloppy site on the borders of a small stream that lost itself in a large marsh farther to the east, while the Araucanians had selected a better spot a little higher up the valley. The following day we hunted over some hills in the vicinity of the mountains, and killed a great quantity of ostriches, scarcely a man coming home without a good supply of meat.

On March 5, early in the morning, whilst most of us were rounding up our horses, others smoking at the fireside, some men appeared in the distance with several horses, one of which appeared to be loaded. In a moment many Indians were away to meet the new comers, and one came back at speed to inform us that they were Manzanero Indians bringing liquor to trade with. They proceeded to Quintuhual's toldo, one of them being a connection of the chief, and there dismounted, unloading their horse of two sheepskins filled with rum. Great was the rejoicing amongst the Indians, and large the crowd that soon collected round Quintuhual's toldo, carefully keeping at a respectable distance. Casimiro and myself were shortly sent for, and on riding over were invited to preside at the commencement of the festival. On our dismounting, in company with several of the other caciques, four lances were planted in the ground (one having a white weft or poncho placed on it), and the chiefs, each taking a horn or pannikin containing a very little rum, marched round the lances muttering an incantation and sprinkling a little liquor on the ground, also on the lances as they passed. This ceremony was repeated twice, a select body of old women attending to sing and cry, to assist in frightening away the evil spirit. After this my brother, who appeared to be master of the ceremonies, handed pannikins of grog round, and all were soon very convivial. After taking a glass or two I retired, in company with Orkeke and Hinchel, neither of whom was inclined to drink much, owing to the possibility of a disturbance. The rest of the party then began to buy

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smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had such an air of civilization about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturbance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Chocoque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Chocoque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had remained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Pieunches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was

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carried on by means of an interpreter (a Valdivian). After a few more questions, some rum was produced, and having taken a glass I mounted and proceeded on my original quest. Hinchel rode a part of the way with me, as he was bound in search of a former acquaintance, whose toldo was pitched about four leagues distant, and who was, he said, the best worker in silver amongst the Indians. I afterwards saw specimens of his handiwork, in the shape of silver tubes for ornamenting stirrup-leathers, and the appearance of these and other silver ornaments made of solid metal in peculiar patterns, evidently of their own devising, left little doubt in my mind that these Indians, or some of the neighbouring tribes, possess the knowledge of the places whence the precious ore is to be obtained, and smelt it themselves.

On returning, after having counted and driven the troop of horses belonging to our party down to the best pasture, I found that Checoque had sent several messengers in search of me, so I at once proceeded to his toldo, where I found him and Mariano Linares sitting on two real chairs, the latter playing a guitar, Casimiro slightly inebriated and vowing eternal friendship, and howling Indians, men and women, in various stages of intoxication, all round. Checoque shook hands, invited me to a seat, and provided me with a glass of grog out of his own bottle, which it is needless to say was not watered like the remainder. I then took advantage of a slight confusion occasioned by an Indian wishing to embrace Checoque, and retired, but was intercepted, and had to drink with various acquaintances before reaching the bivouac. As our fireside was soon occupied by noisy, half-drunken Indians, amongst others Hinchel's son, who, very drunk, had come to get his gun for the purpose of killing the master of the revels, but was fortunately overthrown and bound down by his father, who opportunely arrived, I retired to Foyel's bivouac, where Gravino and others were keeping guard, to be in readiness to look after their chief. He arrived soon after midnight, much to their relief.

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622 554 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the [556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

622 554 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their 131 residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the 241 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities 221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the 273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My 197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described